643 614 565 184 was thus different in the two kingdoms. In the north he was one ruler, though a supreme one, among several ruling kinsmen of the same clan. His position in the past had been strengthened by the prestige shared by his clansmen, but also challenged by his near kinsmen in positions of authority. In the central kingdom the Paramount shared no authority with his fellow clansmen. He was unique among them as a ruler, while sharing special ritual relationships with the two other clans which supported his position without challenging it.

643 614 585 A new Paramount, in order to be installed in his father's place, had to be of the big house as well as of the royal clan. Dr. Kuper described the Swazi practice whereby cattle were contributed by the nation for the mother of the king, so that she was called the 'mother of the people of the country'. She also described the ritual marriage of the first wife of a ruler, who was called *sisulamsiti*, and who was never the mother of the heir.[1] The Ngoni Paramount-elect in the northern kingdom married his first wife when he was a young man and she was called *msulamsizi*, 'the one who takes the darkness off him'. The big wife, who would bear the heir, was married with a large gift of cattle taken from the herd of the big wife of the reigning Paramount and, after marriage, was attached to her big house. We shall discuss in greater detail in the next chapter the relationships of the royal women to the Paramount and to each other. Here it is important to note that the big house owned by the big wife was the place where the future chief was brought up. In the central kingdom the first marriage of the Paramount was traditionally with a woman of the Magagula clan who was said not to bear children. She held an honoured place in the social hierarchy and was married with cattle taken from the herd of the *gogo* house of the reigning Paramount. It was regarded as a ritual marriage, for if she did bear children they were not acknowledged. [842 847] Informants were uncertain whether methods to prevent conception were used, or whether abortion was practised, or whether children, if born, died young or were disposed of or placed out in other households. The last alternatives were unlikely, and one of the first two expedients was in line with the phrase always used of this wife: 'she did not bear children'. The wife who bore the heir was married next and was always of another leading clan, and the cattle for her came from the herd of the big house of the reigning Paramount.

643 614 The reasons were obvious why the remembered genealogies of the Ngoni Paramounts of the royal clans were short compared with the genealogies of some other African royal houses. The remote ancestors of Jere chiefs and Maseko chiefs, who were, as we have seen, not Paramounts before they left the south, were forgotten once the departure had taken place. Only a few names had been handed down and were repeated by the official praisers, whose task it was to call out the names of the direct ancestors of the Paramount before declaiming his *izibongo* or

[1] Kuper, H. op. cit. pp. 54 & 91.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

631 643 692 645 arrived, and there were deep-throated shouts of '*Bayete*' until he sat in his chair. The proceedings were under complete control from beginning to end. After a brief introductory speech, delivered for the Paramount by his 'mouthpiece', the matters for the assembly were introduced one by one by the councillors of the Paramount and were spoken to first 'from the platform', that is from the group round the Paramount. Then it was open for any of the *alumuzana* or headmen to speak 'from the floor'. They did so vigorously but respectfully, and there appeared to be no hesitation in putting forward views which were divergent from those expressed 'from the platform', and questions were asked with freedom.

The topics covered a wide range of subjects and dealt partly with matters sent on by the Administration and partly with the enforcement of regulations emanating from the Paramount for his area. A letter from [744] the health authorities about the incidence of bubonic plague in Southern Rhodesia was accompanied by an order to kill all rats and rabbits. Several headmen stood up and said they had heard by letter from men in the south about this. The Agricultural Department sent a notice exhorting men to take up gardens, and to go and settle and build villages below the escarpment where cotton and tobacco could be grown for sale. Those who went there as a group under a leader, so the notice said, would have that leader recognized as a headman. This drew a number of comments from the audience, some warmly supporting the scheme, others opposing it. The supporters welcomed the chance of earning money from cash crops and of having new headmen recognized in the new villages. The opposers repudiated the idea of setting up new villages. 'Why should we divide ourselves? We have our chiefs and our headmen. Let us stay together' was their theme, adding as a significant afterthought: 'If we go to those hot lands, our cattle will die'. The Paramount had introduced a marriage certificate for which a shilling had to [651] be paid at the chief's court when the marriage was registered. Very few [585] shillings were coming in and the Paramount wanted to know why. A number of men leaped to their feet and wanted to speak, and the *izinduna* had to keep order by pointing to individuals: 'You, what are your words?' The gist of that discussion was that Christians had to pay a shilling to the mission for being married in church, and they wanted to know if they must pay another shilling to the Paramount. His verdict was that Christians would have to pay twice because it was his law that marriages must be registered in the courts. There was much talk among the audience during and after this discussion and the *izinduna* had to call for order several times.

Two well-received items on the agenda were that permission had been given by the Government for villagers living on the Portuguese [648] boundary to go and hoe gardens over the frontier. This use of lands over the frontier, both as grazing-grounds and as gardens, had been

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group consisted of himself and the mother and her children, including her daughters only until they married.

The affinal element in a house consisted of the other wives associated with the owner of the house as co-wives, and the wives of the sons of the owner. Both the kinship group and the affinal group were bound together by their rights in the cattle of the herd which was known as 'the cattle of the house of X'. From that herd were taken cattle for the *lobola* of the wives married after the house was founded, and for the wives of the sons and adopted sons of the house. Into that herd came the cattle received for the marriages of the daughters belonging to the house and the gift cattle sent to wives by their fathers after marriage. When the *lobola* had been fully paid up for a daughter of the house, then her relationship with it ceased and she was thenceforth known as belonging to her husband's mother's house.

Associated with the house in the villages of the Paramounts, the chiefs and the leading *alumuzana* were two other groups of people. One was the *induna* appointed 'to take care of the house' and his family. In the 1930's the *induna* was in charge of the cattle and of the many activities connected with the house, including the organization of male labour in hut-building, in kraal construction and in cultivation; he was consulted by the male members of the house about the selling of cattle and the use of the goods accumulated in the house. The other group associated with the house in pre-European days consisted of captives taken in war and allocated to the house who worked as labourers. The servants who worked for a house in the 1930's assisted with cooking, beer-making and minding the children, and they had huts near that of the owner of the house to which they belonged, placed on the right- or left-hand side of the kraal according to their affiliation with the big house or the second house. Informants said that in the past such association with a house included giving a beast from the herd of the house for the marriage of a servant. The *induna*, through the marriage of his daughters, built up his own herd, which he frequently kept at first with the cattle of the house in the main kraal, later building his own kraal.

A new house began when a man married his big wife. Although at first he built her a hut at the back of his mother's hut in his father's village, as soon as he moved out to his new village after his father's death, the big wife's hut had the next most important site in the kraal after that of the *indlunkulu*, and the second wife had the third place of importance. In some of the larger villages of the central kingdom, the custom of moving out into a new village after the death of the former owner had been given up, partly because of pressure on the land. The house grouping in relation to the siting of huts then became very complex, but the pattern was nevertheless discernible. The two sections under the big house and the *gogo* house, which had formerly divided into two villages, continued to exist together, and at Mcakhatha this dual

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584 period within which the handing over of cattle was completed varied according to the demands of the girl's father and the capacity of the man's father to find the required number. Informants agreed that when only a few beasts were demanded, the transfer took place before or immediately after the main ceremony. In addition to this formal transfer agreed on and carried out as part of the marriage contract, there was also an informal reciprocal transfer which had two main purposes. At the time of the main ceremony the bride's party brought with them a beast, called *mcando*, which was put into the herd of the bridegroom's mother's house to which the bride would henceforth belong. Later, when the two families ate together for the first time, one or more additional beasts were brought from the girl's former house and put into the herd of the house to which she now belonged. In this way, the new wife began to have cattle in the herd of her mother-in-law's house which were known as hers and which would be taken to form a new herd when she went out with her husband to his *lusungulu* village. As soon as these cattle were in the kraal of the house to which she now belonged, the new wife was able to eat *amasi* in her husband's village, which she had not been allowed to do since leaving her father's village.

571 In the series of feasts which marked the stages in the marriage relationship and which facilitated the coming together of the two families, 585 the major part was played by the *indlunkulu* in each village. Many households in the girl's village shared in the preparation of food for the betrothal feast, but it was assembled when cooked and divided out by the woman owner of the *indlunkulu*, assisted by the men and women belonging to the girl's father's house. The next feast was in the man's village, and formed part of the main ceremony, before the bride's party returned to their home. The third feast was to celebrate the 'showing of the hearth-stones', when the young wife was allowed to cook in her husband's village for the first time. The food was collected in her parents' village and carried to her new village, where it was cooked by the women of the house into which she had married, and served in the courtyard of the *indlunkulu*. In the two final feasts—the *umncengo* which was a beer drink, and the *izinyongo*, a feast of beer and food—the beer was brewed and the food collected in the wife's village and cooked and [602] eaten in the courtyard of the *indlunkulu* in the husband's village. These two feasts finally broke down the barrier between the parents-in-law and were the first occasion on which they ate and drank beer together.

585 The main ceremony (*mtimba*) had three distinct parts.[1] The first part included the preparation of the girl in her own village (*ukuconga*); the entrance of her party into the man's village and the presenting of snuff

[1] I was present at an *mtimba* in Ezondweni in the northern kingdom when the traditional ritual carried out in full was combined with a church wedding. The bridegroom was a man of the Dlamini clan from Swaziland, who had been adopted by Chief Mtwalo and had built a hut in the *cigodlo* of the big house.

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(*ukuqandisa*). The middle section, the main part of the ceremony, took place in the husband's village while the bridal party was there. In the last part the bride was left in her new home and three ceremonies marked her gradual integration into her new social group.

After the number of cattle had been decided upon in the final stage of the betrothal, the initiative was left to the girl's parents to announce the date of the *mtimba*. Eventually a message was sent through the *gogo* house of the girl's village to say that the bridal party would arrive on a certain day. Before the day came, the girl, now addressed as *umlobokazi* (the bride), was called to the *indlunkulu* in her village. There the leading women, her father's mothers, who had called in her father's sisters, gave her final instructions on how to behave in her new home. Ngoni women said that they were told at this time: 'Our child, we are putting you out of our family. We are handing you over to the other people. You were free and now your freedom is over for you are under other people. Where you are going you will meet with many troubles. They will say of you many things which you did not do. It is good to be patient.' During this instruction the girl cried and so did her mother. On the morning of the departure the girl was dressed in freshly prepared skins, her hair was arranged in the *isihlutu* (chignon) to which the gall bladder of a goat was pinned, and the gall bladder of a cow was tied to her elbow. Then, still sobbing and whimpering, and surrounded by her age mates and the female members of her house, she set out for her bridegroom's village, the young men of her village driving a bullock (*mcando*) as a present from the bride's parents to the mother of the bridegroom, in whose herd it was placed.

This part of the ceremony, the entry of the bride's party (*ukuqandisa*), was held to be of great importance, since it was the first time the bride's family and friends as a group had met the husband's family. The bride's procession waited by the kraal gate, singing *mtimba* songs, and every now and then a woman of the bride's party, one of her father's sisters, sang the praises of the bride's clan. As the young men driving the bullock entered the kraal, the bridal party joined them and they began to dance in the kraal.

Now the first overtures were made between the bride's party and the people of the bridegroom's village. The older women of the village approached the older women of the bride's party, greeting them and exchanging, in the Ngoni phrase, 'words which were good and proud and showed the quickness of their tongues'.

After these advances, the men of the village came into the kraal or gathered by the *indlunkulu*. While the bridal party began to sing with their heads bowed, the chief woman from the *indlunkulu* of the bride's village came forward, bending low, and on her knees presented to the *induna* of the *indlunkulu* of the husband's village a basket containing snuff boxes and beads. She made a speech, in which she said, 'Here is

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571 585 our child who is now leaving her home. She has no father now. She is leaving his care. We expect you to cherish her now as her father would.' In reply the *induna* assured them, 'Now she is here we will cherish her, but she must respect the owner of this house and be under her in all things.' Speeches about the absence of disease in either village were then made and the men took snuff. The bridal party and the villagers all remained seated and began to sing *umbedlo* songs (songs to be sung sitting).

585 [533] At the marriage at Ezondweni, where I was present, the girls of the bridal party began to shiver as night fell, and a woman of the village brought a sleeping mat as an invitation to go into the huts. Singing as they went, the women of the bridal party were shown a place to sleep, and the bride slept among them for that night. The bride's party went [797] off the next morning to the church at Elangeni for the church marriage service, while the bridegroom with a party from Ezondweni went by a separate route. In the days before the mission came, they used to spend the morning dancing in the kraal, while the husband's family killed a beast, or more than one, for the feast. During the day's dancing in the kraal, the leader of the village women took the husband's spear, came into the kraal with the village party and touched the bride gently on the shoulder. This was a sign that the bride was now one of the village [152] group, and the correct response was for her party to turn their backs and weep to show their grief because she had left them.

In Ezondweni, when the parties returned from church in the afternoon, a large crowd had assembled. The bridal party danced and sang in the kraal and outside the *indlunkulu* and now and then a leading woman of the bridegroom's village joined in. The bride and two supporting friends were given a mat to sit on, the husband and the *madoda* also sat down, the minister from the church prayed and they sang a hymn. Then the food, bowls of *nsima* with large pieces of meat on top, was divided. The names of the divisions of Ezondweni were called out and the leaders of the divisions of that village and of other villages came to get the portions for their people.

Dancing continued after the feast until the bride's party took the bride to the husband's hut and left her there. The next morning the [533] bridal party returned home singing. Formerly the bride came to the door of the hut where she had slept with her husband, and called out the praise-names of her father. She then sang the *ummekezo* song (song of the deflowering) and the husband stood in the doorway behind her. Then he went into the kraal and sat facing the bridal party, who were singing. When the bride came in with a gourd of water there was silence while she poured water for him to wash his hands, mouth and eyes. This was the first public act of service for the husband after the consummation of the marriage and ended the main part of the ceremony, after which the bridal party went home.

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The three final acts of the *mtimba* were performed for the new wife by the women of her new village. The first took place about two days after the end of the main ceremony and was the occasion for her instruction by her husband's relatives. She sat on a mat by the *indlunkulu*, while the woman of that house dressed her *isihlutu*, anointed her with oil, and clothed her in fresh skins and new beads taken from the store of the house to which she now belonged. They then instructed her in her behaviour to old and young, telling her to avoid selfishness and quarrelling and to be friendly with everyone.

The second act, called *ukufumisa umlobokazi* ((bringing the wife out), took place thirty to forty days later, during which time the wife had been sitting by her hut being watched. All this time she had eaten only a little food, sent to her from her mother-in-law's hut, had been afraid to speak to anyone, and had wept often. Now she was told that she might go anywhere and talk with anyone. She could help her mother-in-law by fetching firewood and by lighting her fire. A pot of water was given to her and an axe to cut firewood, and her mother-in-law gave her the *indlekuza* bead, a sign that she might speak and eat in front of her parents-in-law. But her testing time was not yet over. She was told to fetch a huge bundle of split wood and to lay it down carefully before her mother-in-law's hut without dropping any. As the bundle was on her head, it meant kneeling down and bending forward slowly until she could gently ease the wood on to the ground. Other tests included stripping large quantities of maize, soaking them, and pounding them into stamped maize (*izinkobe*). This testing was called *ukulinga umlobokazi* (watching the new wife), and was in most cases far more exacting than anything she had been made to do in her own home.

The culminating act of the integration process, *ukupekisa umlobokazi*, in which the new wife's hut was recognized as the starting-point of a new house, was the ceremony of making fire in her new hut to cook food for her husband. Two or three months after the marriage, a woman from her father-in-law's *gogo* house suddenly appeared in the doorway of the new wife's hut, carrying three hearth-stones. She fetched fire, kindled it, and began to cook boiled maize. The astonished young wife was expected to cry because she had now been turned away from her mother-in-law's cooking-place, as if she were being put out of the house. The maize cooked on this first fire in the new hut was regarded as having been cooked by the bride, and was divided into portions, one being taken to each section of the village attached to a house. Meanwhile the young wife sat nearby, hanging her head and showing the conventional signs of grief. Nevertheless she was so excited that she went back to her own home as soon as possible to tell them the news. The response of her own people was to prepare food for a feast and bring it to her new village to express to her husband's people their appreciation of this token of confidence in the girl's ability to cook for her husband.

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182 585 621 The prolonged series of interviews, exchanges and ceremonies emphasized the Ngoni conception of the marriage contract and its binding nature. They also underlined the severance of the new wife from her former family and house, and her gradual assimilation into her mother-in-law's house. This relationship between Ngoni women within the houses provided an effective means of integrating them into a village to which they were strangers.

CHAPTER IV

NGONI FAMILY STRUCTURE

183 59 'THE Ngoni have power and authority over their women and their children.' So began one of the texts on *cingoni*, 'the thing that is Ngoni', by a man of the Ntumba people whose grandfather had been born among the Ngoni when they were in Songea. There was a recognized ideal pattern of an Ngoni family which covered both the individuals included in the family group and the place where they lived. This pattern was patrilineal in descent, virilocal in residence, polygynous in marriage for all men of standing who were not Christians. Other recognized and often-mentioned characteristics were the continued residence of widows in their husband's village after his death, the grouping of families by houses, and the *laweni*, or dormitory system for boys and unmarried young men.

581 593 The young wife wept on the day of her marriage because she was leaving the security and known relationships of her own family for the hazards and uncertainty of entering as a stranger into her husband's family group. The dramatization of these sentiments in the protracted marriage ceremony, and the allusions in the *mtimba* songs, brought out clearly the continuity of the man's relations with all members of his family and the sudden sharp break in the woman's relationship when she married. When her first child was born, and a new individual family group launched, her final integration into her husband's family began. As a mother who had borne a grandchild to her husband's parents she had thenceforward a direct part in the relationships within her husband's family, but as a wife she was always a stranger. The marriage negotiations and ceremonial express the closeness of the family ties, showing on the girl's side the anxiety of her family on parting with her to live among strangers; and on the man's side the hesitancy of the husband's family at taking into their midst an unknown and untried stranger. In addition, the protracted exchanges of cattle and feasts, delaying the final ceremony and building up relationships between the two family groups, illustrate the Ngoni attitude towards marriage as a

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was instructed before marriage how to keep these household possessions in good repair, and how to smear the floor and walls of the hut with cowdung so that they presented the shining surface typical of Ngoni buildings.

The tables which follow show the total population of three villages in each kingdom at the time they were visited in 1938 and 1939, including such data as the number of widows, of plural marriages, of wives for whom *lobola* was given, and the number of men away at work.

	1 Huts	2 Men	3 Women	4 Children	5 Total	6 Men away	7 Widows	8 Plural marriages	9 Lobola marriages
Northern kingdom									
Eswazini .	23	10	21	28	59	10	4	4	21
Endindeni .	15	9	21	21	51	4	1	4	15
Eluhangeni	37	19	36	54	109	11	4	5	32
Central kingdom									
Cinkwita .	39	22	39	54	115	13	5	4	2
Mangozo .	60	41	65	78	184	9	18	2	4
Mcakhatha	122	71	112	68	251	30	16	14	12

Earlier in this chapter reference was made to the patterns of residential grouping on a kinship basis, which had evolved from the mixed tribal groups in the very large villages of pre-European days. The choice of these six villages as examples was made mainly on the grounds that they had a considerable proportion of members of Swazi or trans-Zambesi clans and therefore illustrated the traditional Ngoni pattern of kinship grouping. The northern kingdom villages showed the *luwugulu* and *gogo* pattern still extant. It had disappeared in the central kingdom villages with the result that the villages were much larger, and included groups based on house affiliation which would have been divided into separate villages in the north. On the other hand the sub-division of a village in the central kingdom into *banja* was not found in the north.

The data concerning these villages have been analysed to illustrate the households associated with the chief man in the leading clan in the village. These households were those of his wives, his mothers, his brothers, his sons, sisters and daughters. In the north this man was in one case a *mulumuzana*, in another a son of a great war *induna*, and in the third the head of a collateral branch of the royal clan. In the central kingdom the chief man in one was a *mulumuzana*, in another a grandson of a great war *induna*, and in the third the head of the clan of the royal shadow. The proportion of households belonging to the leading clan was much higher in the smaller villages of the north than in the rest, since they were approximating to a one-family village.

[P.1]

CHAPTER I

MARRIAGE IN THE TIME OF PEACE

1. *The old social structure*

IN THE DAYS before the European conquest, the Ngoni people lived in large villages each containing hundreds of huts built round a central cattle byre. Each married woman had her own hut and there were separate dormitories for boys and for girls. The huts were grouped into small clusters, each containing the dwellings of a few close agnates with their wives and children under the leadership of the senior male agnate. If the leader of the cluster was an important person, captives taken in war were allocated to him and their huts were included in his own cluster. Clusters were grouped into divisions, each usually under the control of a village lieutenant. Within the same division the heads of clusters were either agnates of the lieutenant or were people who had been captured by him or his father or who had been allocated to him by the chief and who were therefore bound to him as quasi-kinsmen. Several divisions made up a village under a headman or a regional governor. The village lieutenants were dependents or former captives of the headman or his ancestors, and were allocated to their divisions by him. Some divisions were under the control of junior kinsmen of the headman. Each village was attached to a royal headquarters where there was a senior queen. This arrangement of clusters, divisions, villages, and royal headquarters, which I refer to as the residential system, seems to have been similar to that found to-day among the Swazi.[1]

The system was a growing one. Brothers brought up in the same cluster gradually achieved their independence and split off to establish clusters of their own. The heads of clusters grew in importance and were promoted to village lieutenants so that their clusters became divisions, while divisions grew too large to be contained within the villages and moved off to establish themselves as separate villages. This process of expansion did not in itself affect the formal hierarchy of authority. The lieutenant who established his own village as a distinct spatial entity still remained a lieutenant of his lord, and deferred to him in matters of importance. The same word[2] was used to refer to a division of a royal headquarters, a division of a village, and a cluster within a division. The relationships of superordination and subordination between persons remained the same despite changes in spatial separation.

[1] Cf. Kuper, *An African Aristocracy*, p. 66.

[2] *Cigawo*, pl. *zigawo*, from *ku-gawa*, to divide.

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Mpezeni

which the marriage lacked substance. We may look on these rites as fulfilling two social functions. Firstly they affirmed the position of the bride as wife of her husband, and secondly they emphasised the role of her parents as parents-in-law. In all the ceremonies of marriage the man and his wife were supported by members of their own groups, but we do not know exactly who these supporters were. They may have been agnatic kin, maternal kin, neighbours, or political superiors. From what we know of modern marriage it is likely that the composition of these groups of supporters was never rigidly determined.

The beginning of the marriage was announced at a ceremony which we may refer to as the gall bladder rite. It was held in the man's village and, after a beast had been killed, the bride was anointed with its gall and intestinal fat.[14] Another rite, which took place up to a year later, was held when the bride cooked food for her husband for the first time.[15] Before this ceremony she relied for her food on the man's other wives or his mother or grandmother. If the marriage was a successful one, that is, if the woman had borne live children and the husband was treating her well, the woman's parents showed their appreciation of their son-in-law by sending him, from time to time, presents of beer.[16] The son-in-law, or his father, rewarded the women who brought the beer with a present of meat. Later, the wife's parents brewed beer for the son-in-law and called him to their village so that he might formally enter his wife's mother's hut.[17] Later still, a ceremony was held at which the man and his wife's mother ate together.[18] At these rites of entering into the mother-in-law's hut or eating with her, a beast was sometimes killed by the father-in-law for the benefit of the man.

4. Relationship to affines

Apart from the specific ceremonial obligations there were continuing obligations of hospitality and assistance between the two groups. There was always visiting between them, and indeed

[14] This ceremony is called *bwiwa*, a word said to be of Zulu origin whose meaning I have been unable to trace. Informants were unable to say what it meant. The gall bladder is called *nyongo*, from the Zulu *isinyongo*. Rattray, *op. cit.* pp. 40 and 114, and Scott, *A cyclopaedic dictionary of the Mang'anja language spoken in British Central Africa*, p. 486, both translate the Nyanja word *nyongo* as spleen, but from Rattray's description of a marriage ceremony it seems that a gall bladder must have also been in use among the Ngoni of Southern Nyasaland.

[15] *Mpikitso*. Cf. the Zulu *uku-phekisa*, to help or make to cook. Weise, *op. cit.* 'Expedition . . .', pp. 473-4, and 'Geschichte . . .', p. 192 describes what seems to be a similar ceremony, which he says took place a few days after marriage.

[16] All offerings of beer which are carried from one place to another, to a son-in-law or to a headman or chief, are called *nipuko*. Cf. Zulu *uku-phuka*, to cook.

[17] Called *mangwiro*. Cf. Zulu *uku-ngwiza*, to enter another person's hut.

[18] Called either *manyalano*, from the Zulu *uku-dlana*, or *kulyalana*, from the Ngoni *ku-lyalana*, both verbs meaning 'to eat together'.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

ponding payment through which they can attempt to control the relationship between the couple. Yet both groups of kin are interested in the successful outcome of the marriage, and therefore attempt to influence the choice of marriage partner.

3. Formal interaction

In the formal negotiations that precede a marriage, and in the ceremonies that mark its stages of development, the kinsfolk are always involved. The married couple depend on their kin for economic assistance, and are under obligations to help their kin. The place of residence of the couple is determined by the disposition of their kin in different villages. If the man is a labour migrant his interests are represented by his rural kinsfolk. In general it is the fathers of the couple who are most directly concerned, if they are available, but in all Ngoni situations in which a man (or woman) appeals to his kin for support there are no hard and fast rules about the genealogical positions his supporters should occupy. If a man's father is old he turns to his elder brother. If his genealogically close kinsmen live far away, he turns to those who live nearer although they may be further removed from him in genealogical terms. If there is no male kinsman available he may seek the support of an old kinswoman.

The formal situations which require the co-operation of kinsfolk are the matchmaking, the gall bladder ceremony (which we may perhaps regard as the wedding), the ceremony of first cooking, the hoeing party, the announcement of first pregnancy, the carrying of beer and the entry into the wife's mother's hut. Betrothal is another formal situation requiring the presence of the woman's kin, but as nowadays very few girls are betrothed, we shall omit this from our analysis. It will be recalled that even in the old days betrothal applied only to girls under puberty and that a girl who reached puberty without becoming betrothed proceeded to marriage without passing through any intermediate stage. The matchmaking, at which the marriage is arranged, is carried on in a formal manner but there is little ceremonial. The carrying of beer is a visit from one group to the other that can be repeated as many times as they wish, but all the other ceremonies occur but once in a marriage, if they occur at all. The hoeing party has a certain economic value but the other ceremonies are largely symbolic in content. As with the marriage payments, the marriage ceremonials can all be dispensed with and yet there be a marriage which to all intents and purposes is valid. What cannot be omitted so easily from a marriage are the patterns of respect and avoidance between the couple and their affines, particularly between a man and his wife's mother. Even here, however, there is some variation in practice.

The usual procedure in matchmaking is that first the man and the woman agree between themselves that they will get married. They reach this agreement in secret without reference to their kinsfolk

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584 or friends. If the man is away working or in the Army he may make his proposal by letter. When agreement has been reached negotiations can proceed although they are carried on as if there had been no prior agreement and the proposal was entirely a new one.

A man tells his eldest brother of his intention to marry, or, if he is the eldest son, he may approach his father direct. He does not [593] speak to his mother about this matter, for a man does not confide in his mother about anything connected with sex, but she is told [603] of his intention by her husband. A man ought to tell his grandmother at an early stage, particularly the grandmother who reared him. A woman tells her sisters and her grandmother, and her eldest sister will tell her eldest brother. The man's father or eldest brother may decide on who shall act as intermediaries in the matchmaking, or else the man may himself ask important people in the village to act. There is no definite rule as to who they should be, and either men or women or both may make up the party. Usually two or three people go, and a man will try and choose people who are reliable and sober and tactful. Marriage intermediaries do not have the [191] same important responsibilities for the marriage as do the marriage sureties (or witnesses) among the Nyanja and Yao although they are known by the same term.[1] The intermediaries go to the woman's village and consult her senior relatives. Traditionally they should go to the woman's grandmother, either her father's mother or her mother's mother, depending on who lives in the village and who is the more important. They tell her that they have heard that such-and-such a marriage has been contemplated. The girl's grandmother tells the girl's father that the intermediaries have come, and if nothing has arisen to jeopardize the marriage, the visiting party are told that all is well and that they must come back again. They return to their own village, and the next day, or the next week if it is a long way to walk, they go again, bringing with them a gift or some- [583] times the legalization payment. The gift or money is handed to the person leading the negotiations on the woman's side who passes it on to the woman's father. Arrangements are made about the gall bladder ceremony and a date fixed. The intermediaries then go back to their village.

585 At the gall bladder ceremony the bride receives formal advice [591] from her affines and the people in their village. Shortly afterwards she begins to live with her husband in either his or her village. If they live virilocally she does not at first cook for her husband, but the couple rely on food prepared by his other wives or his mother or [593] grandmother. It may be up to a year later that the woman first cooks for her husband and husband's father, the latter commenting 843 on her cooking. When she first becomes pregnant she is anointed by her husband's grandmother, and goes with a young girl from her husband's kinsfolk to announce her pregnancy to her own kin.

[1] Nkhamo.

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and widows are subject to the same restrictions and wear the same signs of mourning whether or not their deceased husbands made any payments. The absence of payments does not automatically deny to a man and woman the status of husband and wife any more than the completed payments automatically ensure marital happiness.

As reflected in Table XII, the proportion of marriages in which no payments are offered has decreased in the last twelve years, and we know from Table VIII that this is due to an increase in the number of marriages in which the legalization payment is made. It is therefore possible in future there will be a clearer division between marriage, with its legalization payment, and concubinage, with no such payment and with a completely different relationship between the sexual partners and between their respective groups of relatives. We are not in this paper concerned specifically with concubinage and prostitution, but it may at this point be useful to point out that not many women are concubines. In our sample, as set out in Table IV, there was only one concubine, a wedded woman, among 223 wedded women. From Table III, we see that there were no men at all, in our sample of 116 wedded men, living with concubines. The paramour of the concubine in our sample was resident on a nearby farm, and so did not come into the sample of men.

4. Co-operation between affines

The payments and ceremonies of marriages are isolated and memorable events. The ceremonies are public in that neighbours

Table XII. Incidence of marriage without payment, by decades

Marriage payment	Date of marriage									
	1878-87	1888-97	1898-1907	1908-17	1918-27	1928-37	1938-47	1948-9	Not known	Total
At least one payment offered	1	6	17	37	38	34	80	14	5	233
None offered ..	–	7	11	19	26	24	29	3	3	122
Ratio of marriages without offer of payment to total	0%	54%	39%	34%	41%	41%	35%	18%	—	34%
Not known if any payments offered	1	3	6	6	12	11	18	7	2	66
Grand total ..	2	16	34	62	76	69	133	24	10	426

Informants as in Table VIII

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see them and to a large extent participate in them, joining in the dancing and drinking, giving presents and advice to the bride, and so on. Less spectacular are the continual patterns of interaction between a man and his affines arising from his partial dependence on them and his obligations towards them as expressed in everyday life. A man must avoid his mother-in-law and help his father-in-law with garden work, and if he is living uxorilocally he may be dependent on his affines for food and housing. If they move from one village to another he moves with them.

Avoidance is most marked between a man and his wife's mother. He must not speak to her, sit near her, pass in front of or enter her hut, and he should endeavour not to meet her on the path. Above all he must never sit on her mat, for sitting on a woman's mat is regarded as symbolically equivalent to sleeping with her. To a lesser extent a man must avoid his father-in-law, but it is not considered amiss for a man to sit at one end of a verandah while his father-in-law sits at the other. They can talk to each other if necessary. A woman is comparatively free with her parents-in-law and does not avoid their hut. The formalities of relationship between a man and his parents-in-law begin when he starts to negotiate his marriage, or earlier if their daughter is betrothed to him while she is still a child. With the passage of time a man avoids his mother-in-law less, and after the ceremony of entering her hut he can sit and chat to her. Even then it is still considered shameful for him to sit on her mat.

The Ngoni regard uxorilocal residence as part of the obligation a man has towards his wife's parents. Many couples spend their whole married life virilocally and others live permanently in uxorilocal marriage, but in describing where a couple ought to live, Ngoni speak always in virilocal terms. We have seen that in the old days virilocal residence was the rule but that a man might live uxorilocally for a while at the beginning of his first marriage after paying 'snuff-box' until he paid bridewealth (p. 5). The Cewa lived uxorilocally, but it was possible for a Cewa man to make a small payment some years after marriage permitting him to take his wife to his own village. Nowadays among the Ngoni some men, but not all, begin their marriages uxorilocally. A man may do so either because he finds it more convenient, due to lack of suitable accommodation in his own village, quarrels with his kin or shortage of food, or else because he is made to do so by his parents-in-law. A parent who does not approve of his (or her) daughter's suitor may accept the young man on condition that the couple live under his eye for a while so that he can assure himself that his daughter will be well treated by her husband. Sometimes it is said that a man who has not yet made the legalization payment must live uxorilocally until he can find the money, but this is not always done and some couples whose marriages are only 'poorly fixed' live virilocally.

The proportion of couples who live virilocally varies from one village to another.

N 583 585
N 606 [591]
N 591
M [591]
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migrant sons, and villagers mourn for a dead kinsman of whose death in the towns they have just heard. 167 602

Although it is possible for a couple to keep in contact with their rural kin if they are diligent in writing, the amount of interaction between the couple and their kin is much less under these conditions than when they are living in the village. Even when only the man is away and his wife is living at home, the ties linking relatives by marriage cannot in general be as strong as when the individual through whom those ties pass is present in face-to-face contact with his affines. None of the ceremonies of marriage, except the obtaining of a marriage certificate, can be performed if the man is away from the village and they must wait until he returns. Ngoni say 'You cannot send beer on a lorry'. When the man returns for a rest his wife's parents sometimes seize the opportunity to send him beer, but if he has been away a long time, they may be reluctant to brew for a man they do not know very well and whose character may have changed in the treacherous environment of the towns. Even if the man is working as near as Fort Jameson township, he may have difficulty in getting away from his job just at the time his parents-in-law want him at home. [585]

Some men marry women they meet in the towns. Often an unmarried man leaves the village and a year or so later the news comes that he now has a wife. If the woman is from another tribe it is unlikely that the relatives at home will be told her name, and if the children of the marriage remain in Southern Rhodesia, they too will be unknown at home in the village. Sometimes, however, a man may marry a woman who comes from his own neighbourhood who has been visiting relatives in Southern Rhodesia or who has been divorced from another labour migrant. There is then more chance that the rural kin will be made aware of the marriage, and the children born to the couple may be sent home to one or other grandparent. If and when the man brings his bride back to the village, he goes to her village to give her relatives formal notification of what has happened, how he was in Southern Rhodesia and saw her and how they married there. Men sometimes offer the legalization payment for wives married in Southern Rhodesia when they return home. If the woman's relatives see that the man is treating his wife well, that she is well clothed and that the man is not running after other women, they may accept the marriage and brew beer for the man. If they do not approve of him there is little direct action they can take but they may try to start a quarrel sooner or later. 581 602

7. Child's parents-in-law

On either side of the married couple are their kin groups, and there is a special term to express the relationship between the parents of one spouse and the parents of the other. This relationship is thought of as one of limited co-operation. The two pairs of 602

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11. Headmen

The kin of the couple are not the only people in the village who are concerned in their marriage. In any matter of importance taking place in the village, attracting many onlookers and participants, there should always be someone to represent the 'owner' of the village, as the headman is also called. This is as true of marriage as of anything else. The intervention of the headman is clearly seen in such situations as the gall bladder ceremony and the entry into the wife's mother's hut. At these public affairs a lieutenant may be acting as master of ceremonies, even though he is not directly related to the couple. In most villages everyone is related in some way or other to everyone else in the village, but unless the marriage involves one of the close kin of the headman or his lieutenant, it is clear from the role he plays that he is present not because of his kinship to the couple but because he is a political official in the village. Thus at a gall bladder ceremony a lieutenant was called in to anoint the bride although he came from another division of the village. At another, a village lieutenant instructed the bride with these words: 'I am the lieutenant of the village. Fear me and I will also fear you. Work hard for [your father-in-law] Jesse.'

The headman of the village ought to be called to, or at least told about, any meeting to discuss a quarrel, and if the matter is taken to the court, he may be required to explain what steps he took to settle the quarrel in the village. His opinion on the character of the married couple is listened to. In the case of Daniel and Deborah, we have seen that at the first two meetings the headmen of the two villages were present, and although the headman of Daniel's village was not very closely related to him (he was Daniel's father's wife's father's wife's son) he took part in the discussion. At the third meeting the headman of Deborah's village was not called, but it is significant that the headman's father's father's brother's son was called in. The village was in danger of splitting at about that time, for a variety of reasons, and the headman's classificatory father was trying to form a separate village.

12. The Court

Beyond the ambit of the village lie the courts and the Administration. We have seen that it is to the court that married couples go when their troubles are greater than their kinsfolk can deal with. Beyond the courts there is always the possibility of appeal to the Administration, and from time to time the Administration intervenes in village affairs on its own initiative. Another external system impinging on marital affairs is that focussed on the missions. By contrast, the interests of White planters and urban employers are concentrated in fields other than marriage, and except in the case of employees of long standing, they do not concern themselves with the marital affairs of their labourers, save in so far as attention to these may conflict with a man's attendance at work. In the particular

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I. Preparing meat for a gall-bladder ceremony. The leader of the bride's party sits on the left with her helper while the meat is cut up by the master of ceremonies.

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II. Bride kneeling on mat outside her husband's mother's hut. Standing behind her are the three women of her party.

[Facing P. 126]

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III. Anointing the bride's feet with gall. The master of ceremonies rubs gall over the bride, who sits on a mat between a woman of her party and the guide.

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IV. The gall-bladder is safely pinned in the bride's hair. Thus decorated, she will return to her own village.

[Facing P. 127]

[P. 127]

Appendix I

THE GALL BLADDER CEREMONY

This ceremony is known as *lusiwa* or sometimes is referred to by the word for gall bladder, *nyongo*. If it is performed, it takes place after arrangements for the marriage have been completed and before the bride begins to live with her husband. If the couple are Christians, it is held before the banns are called. I observed two of these ceremonies in 1948. 585 ●

The ceremony takes place in the man's village at his mother's hut. In the evening of the day before the ceremony the bride arrives accompanied by three women from her own village. They may be kinswomen or important women of the village. One of these women is in charge of the bridal party. In one instance the leader was the bride's mother's husband's son's wife, and the other two women were another classificatory sister-in-law and a classificatory sister. In the other instance the women were a classificatory grandmother, a father's sister, and a younger sister.

The bridal party are given a hut to sleep in and are fed by the bridegroom's mother. In the morning they remain in their hut and each person who comes in to greet them must do in a special way. They reply with a little song.

The bridegroom's father asks a reliable friend in the village to act as master of ceremonies. The master of ceremonies chooses an animal from the byre of the bridegroom's father and tethers it near the groom's mother's hut. A message is sent to the bridal party, and the leader comes to look at the animal. She accepts it by saying 'Yes', and the master of ceremonies, or the lads who gather round to help him, kill the animal. It is said that the bride's leader could refuse the animal if she thought it a poor one, but to do so would upset all the arrangements for the marriage which has been agreed upon, and I did not hear of any instance of refusal. The animal killed is traditionally a cow, but in the tsetse fly areas where there are no cattle a goat is taken instead. [136]

The animal is killed by slitting its throat, and the blood is collected in a bowl. The intestinal fat of the animal is cut into little pieces and mixed with the blood. The gall bladder is carefully removed. When the animal has been skinned and the meat cut up, the leader of the bride's party is called again from her hut, and makes an allocation of meat, traditionally giving the head and one leg to the bridegroom's father. The rest belongs to her party. [231]

A mat is placed in front of the groom's mother's hut, and the bride comes out of her hut, preceded by the other women of her party. They walk slowly to the mat, and sit down on it. Sometimes the

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585 bride herself refuses to sit on the mat until she has been given a present. She is joined on the mat by a small girl, aged about ten, from the groom's family, who becomes known as 'the guide'.[1] The leader of the bride's party and one other of the bride's women sit down on the mat, with the bride and the guide between them.

The instruction of the bride now begins, with a speech from some [237] important man in the village, who takes the gall bladder and anoints the head, arms and feet of the bride with the gall, going on to anoint the guide in the same way. They are then sometimes anointed with vaseline by a woman. One person after another, men and women, [867] now proceed to lecture the bride on how she should behave in the village, and each explains to her who he or she is in relation to her. The gall bladder is blown up and stuck in the hair of the bride, where she will keep it until she returns to her own village. Each person who delivers a speech of instruction gives a small present, a threepenny bit or beads, which they put into a plate on the mat [183] at the bride's feet. This situation of formal instruction, often of an abusive nature, accompanied by presents, is a recurrent one in Ngoni ceremonial.[2]

[237] Sometimes the small intestine of the animal is placed round the shoulders of a younger sister of the bride who is a member of her party. This girl is then designated linked co-wife (*nshanzi*) of the bride. This is not always done, and when it is done it does not imply that the girl will later become the real linked co-wife of her elder sister. Although in the two ceremonies I saw this designation of a linked co-wife did not occur, in both a sister of the bride was one of the bridal party.

[262] At the end of the instruction, the bride and her party go back into their own hut, and the leader cooks the liver of the animal, and the blood and fat. This she divides between the two families, sending the portion of the bridegroom's family to their hut for them to eat there. The guide stays in the bride's hut. After they have rested, the bride, guide, and their companions leave the village, taking the meat with them back to the bride's village. Outside her village the party stop, and are met by more women from the bride's family. The guide demands a small present before she will enter the village, usually beads. Inside the village the bride's mother takes the gall bladder from her daughter's head and buries it in the byre. The guide stays in the village for a few days, and demands another small present before she will assist the bride's people with cooking. When a quantity of flour has been pounded for the bride, and some maize half-pounded for the guide, the bride and the guide return quietly to the bridegroom's village. The bride begins to live with her husband, and the guide resumes her normal

[1] *Mpelekesi*, from the verb *ku-pelekesa*, to accompany part of the way. Cf. Zulu *impelesi*, girl accompanying a bride to her wedding.
[2] See above, p. 77.

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life as a young girl. She gives the half-pounded maize to the bridegroom's mother. 585

In neither of the two ceremonies I saw did the husband play any large part. He did not appear when his bride was instructed. His father sent word to him that all was going well, but he himself stayed out of the way at the other end of the village. Sometimes, however, the bridegroom does sit with his bride on the mat and is instructed with her.

Another gall bladder ceremony which I recorded was held at the time the bride went to live with her husband. This was in an intra-village marriage. In the evening the bride came with important women from her section of the village. The bridegroom's relatives were waiting to receive them, and promised to give them a beast. The bride was then handed over to them. The women went back to their own division, and returned the next day to claim the beast and wash the bride. The beast, an ox, was killed and the intestines were placed round the neck of a younger sister of the bride who became the designated linked co-wife. [231]

If Christians hold the gall bladder ceremony before the bride begins to live with her husband, it is followed by a ceremony in church. The bride does not come back to live with her husband after the gall bladder ceremony but instead goes with her relatives to the local church, where they meet a party from the man's village, and the arrangements for the marriage are set in hand. After three weeks the couple are married in church. The bride then goes back again to her village and as before she pounds flour. After a few days she comes to live with her husband, or he comes to live with her.

Appendix II

FIRST COOKING

When a woman begins her marriage in her husband's village, she cannot cook food until she has been invited to do so by her husband's parents. Until then, she relies on food cooked by her co-wives or her mother-in-law or grandmother-in-law. This state of affairs may last from a month up to a year. It is ended by the ceremony of 'making to cook' (*mphekiso*). I did not see this ceremony, and I have relied on the accounts of informants. It is said that a man's parents would be ashamed of their poverty if they did not entertain the new bride as a guest until the time had come for her to join in the general run of domestic work in the village. 592 252 593

The man's parents decide when the ceremony shall be held. On the day, the man's sisters, mothers and grandmothers prepare flour, plates, porridge pat and stirring stick in the house of the man's

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

III. Then they spread a mat and go and bring her husband, and set them down on the mat side by side and begin to shave his head. As the hair falls the people throw down beads. Then they take a stick and lay it across the legs of the man and woman so that each may know it is that stick that will beat them [if they do wrong]. When they have finished shaving the man, they bring oil and rub the bodies of the man and woman. When it is dark the old women escort the girl to her husband's hut. The *ndiwo* relish is cooking on the fire. During the night the woman rises and puts some salt in the pot. Next morning, before dawn, before the villagers have opened their doors, the woman goes off, and gives some of the relish to her mother, and to the old woman who was mistress of the ceremony. This relish she just sets down at the door, and when they open they find it, and rub it on their feet and under their arm-pits; little children just eat it. If she have any relations who are at a distance, they sharpen a little piece of bamboo and stick the relish on the end (and put it aside) that the distant one, when he returns, shall also rub his feet with it. Perhaps the absent one, should he not have heard that these events have happened when he comes to the village, and should say, "Give me water that I may drink," they refuse him, but with a purpose, even though the water is there, and go and bring the relish that first he may rub some on his feet. It may be the woman discovers that her husband is impotent, then she just stays in her hut and does not come forth to distribute the relish. Then the old women [who know the reason] will persuade the man, saying, "Go off to the man with the lots to consult them" [to see what is to be done]. When he goes off (on this errand) some other man is called in, and he

6:Rattray E,G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

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will finish the ceremony [that the relish may be given out]. Should the girl, before she came to maturity, not have been betrothed to any man, the matrons tell her she must go to some lover; this is known as "chigango." In the evening she takes her cooking pot and relish and goes to the quarters of the young unmarried men, who for the night sleep somewhere else. In the morning the girl goes back to the *Yuka* hut.

V

THE BIRTH OF A CHILD

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I. When a woman becomes pregnant, the matrons of the village tell the husband "he must now no longer cohabit with her." If the man have another wife he goes off to her house. When the time draws near for the woman's accouchement, she bids her husband leave her. He goes to one of the village matrons and tells her, "My wife is very ill." Then old women go to the hut and begin to take out all the cooking utensils and household goods. Should the woman have difficulty in giving birth the old women bid her confess, saying, "Speak, child, lest you die; who committed adultery with you?" Should she have been faithless she confesses, saying, "I sinned with so and so." The matrons hide such confessions. When she is safely delivered they bathe the infant, then one old woman goes off to tell the husband, "Your wife is well." Perhaps the woman has given birth to a male child, then she tells him, "You have seen a knobkerry."

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[845]

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

584 431 porridge for them and it is refused, and they spear goats for them and they eat. Next day they go home. They of the girl's village tell them, saying, "You will hear from us." Now, if the malt for the beer be in readiness, they do not sleep many [273] days, but if not, they let a moon pass. On the day on which the beer is strained they go and call the bodyguard of young warriors, and they come along with the husband (to be) to drink the beer. The man who is to marry the girl they go and hide away in a hut on the edge of the village along with his betrothed, and the beer for them will be drawn in a little pot.

● 585 III. Now every one comes together at the village court and bring goats. The betrothed sits on a [302] mat. Her grandmother shaves her head, leaving a round patch of hair on the crown. When she has finished shaving her one of the men from the man's [231] village steps out and begins to kill some goats. Should a goat not die immediately it is beaten. Then the goats are skinned, and they take a spleen and let drops fall from it on the head of the girl, and then inflate all the spleens. They take the fat from the belly, and spread it in the sun to dry. Towards evening they take the girl and go with her to the *Kuka* hut, and there they take a frothy medicine, called *chitundu*, and the girl bathes with it, and her little watchman bathes also, and he (the child) takes the spleens and the fat, the inflated spleens are fastened on the girl's head and the fat over her shoulders and under her arms. The little child, when he has finished tying them on, is beaten by the men from the man's village (playfully). Then one of the village elders gets up and speaks, saying, "There you have your mother, we give her you to-day; she is subject to no disease, her illnesses consist of occasional headaches. Should she

6:Rattray E,G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

go and get *tsempo*, well, we shall know she got it at your village, for here there is no *tsempo*." Thereupon all the men from the man's village, and all the women from that of the betrothed, set out to escort their "sister." On the way the betrothed is carried on the back [of some person]. When they arrive at the bridegroom's village, they are given the hut they had when they first came, and the betrothed sleeps there with all her (girl) companions. Next day four matrons come—two from the girl's home and two from the man's—and take the girl aside [into the bush]. If all is well and they find "the cattle are there," they shrilly sound the *nkulungwani* and say, "The cattle are there, the cattle are there." [That is to say they consider the girl a virgin.] Should, however, they find that "the cattle are finished" (*i.e.* must be returned to the man), the girl's father must return two or three goats, or, should the man demand it, "shave another maiden for him." In some retreat in the bush they dance the *nsindo* dance. They then go to the open village court that the bride may dance with a spear in her hand before the eyes of all men, and when she has done so her little watchman steps up and takes the spear from her hand, then the girl kneels down, and the child takes a shallow basket and begins to remove the spleens and fat the girl is adorned with (putting them in the basket), and these they place in the *Kuka* hut. They bring calico and dress the maiden and go with her to her husband's hut, and that evening he cuts the bead girdle and it is left lying on the mat. On the following morning the woman takes a jar of water and goes and freshly plasters the floor of the *Kuka* hut. An old woman comes and gets the girdle of beads and places them beside the spleens and the fat. When some time has elapsed the

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6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

585 young wife is made cook beer, and on the day it is drunk the spleens are burned and the bead girdle unravelled, and the girl will make bracelets of it. [301]

VIII

MARRIAGE (*Chipeta*)

584 I. When a girl and a man love one another, they make each other presents in secret, and when this has gone on for some time, they say, "But let these things fly away on the wind now and be heard by people." Then the man goes and tells the elders of his village, saying, "Go and ask for me at so and so's. I would live with them, for I am miserable (here)." Then some of the elders go there to ask for him, saying, "Here we have seen a (girl's) basket, and we would remain with you, for where we are we are unhappy." Then the headman replies, "First of all you must return, when we have asked the child if she consents you shall hear again." Then the deputation go off home. The man calls his children, he sees the one who is almost a woman, and asks her, saying, "So and so have come and say they want you to stay with them." And the child answers, "Well, what can I say, words which you may speak I obey." And they from the man's village return again, saying, "We have come about that proposal which we mentioned yesterday; we are most anxious for what we asked." Then the chief says, "Let the man come, he shall live here, I do not refuse." And they go back home and tell the man, saying, "We

6:Rattray E,G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

went across there, and heard what he old us. He says you must go and live there." And the man says, "We shall do so, it's not far to the water." Then the old men (who are negotiating the affair) return there and say, "We shall sta/ with you, there is water, and it is not far away." And the village chief says, "Let him come, this is not some other land that eats up a man." Then the old men return, and bring their child and take him to the chief, saying, "Here is your man, and he has no other words [meaning complaining, bad-tempered words]; all he ever says is, 'Cook me porridge, for I am hungry.'" And the chief replies "For our part, our one has not one little thing (gainst her), cooking is her forte and pounding flour, and, perhaps, even hoeing, but as to that we do not know for certain as we have not yet seen her with a hoe in her hand." 584

II. Then the old men return, going back to their own village, and leave the child. He must sleep in the quarters of the young unmarried men, and his wife will cook his food for him until he has built his hut. He does not cohabit with her. When he has finished building it, they put him in it. At the village where he is, he does not ever see his mother-in-law, they always run away from each other. When he says, "Now I am sick of this running away, let us 'uncover' each other." Then the mother-in-law cooks beer, and the son-in-law gets some calico, and they go and call the people from the man's village, telling them that now they wish "to uncover." Then the people from the man's village come and take the man and go with him to his mother-in-law's hut. His head is still covered with his calico and the mother-in-law's also is still over her head. Then the man's brother goes and uncovers the mother-in-law and takes the 585 606

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

585 606 present of calico and gives it her. The mother-in-law pours out a little pot of beer and gives it to her "little" son-in-law, and he drinks and drinks, and one drinks and hands to the other. The brother is still sitting (covered up). When this is finished the mother-in-law goes out and the man then gets up and drinks with his companions, saying, "Now we have 'uncovered' each other, and the state of mother-in-lawship requiring one to run away from the other is finished." They now honour each other.

IX

THE RAIN TEMPLE

789 I. If the rains do not come people say, "Look at this, the rain keeps refusing to fall from above; come, let us try to propitiate the rain spirit, and perhaps the rain may come." Then they begin to make ready, saying, "Let all of you collect a few handfuls of grain, we can at least try; if we fail we shall do so having at least made the attempt." Then they begin to collect the maize, the very same day it is ground and pounded, and they boil the beer and pour it in a gourd-cup. Next morning at dawn every one comes together and they go to the rain temple. They clear away the grass that the ground may be open. He who is chief of the ceremony sits in the middle and first draws some of the beer and pours it in a pot buried in the ground, and says, "Master, *Chauta*, you have hardened your heart towards us, what would you have us do? We

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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583 [671] been made. It is the legalization payment that is recorded on the marriage registration certificate when one is issued.

Often this payment is postponed until some years after marriage and sometimes it is never made at all. It is generally £1. 10s., and is normally provided by the bridegroom himself out of his savings, although in the old days a man would have been helped by his father. The money goes to the bride's father, and there is no legal obligation on him to share the money with his relatives, although he may do so. Marriage ties can be reinforced by a whole series of ceremonies and ceremonial exchanges and payments between the man's people and the woman's people, and a marriage in which all these ceremonies have been performed is regarded as being 'well fixed'. In such a marriage the parents and siblings of the couple have come to know each other, have collaborated in ritual activities, and have probably had occasion to deliberate together as a court of conciliation in settling quarrels between the couple. This line of development is seldom taken in a marriage in which the legalization payment has not been made. If the husband refuses to pay, then the wife's people will not brew beer for him and his parents, and will not use their influence with his wife to maintain the marriage. We may say that in a well-fixed marriage the two families are linked together, and that in one that is not well fixed it is only the two individuals who are linked. Indeed when no payments have been made it is common for the bride's relatives to profess ignorance of the name of the husband, or at least of his parents' names. No action can be taken in the court to enforce marriage payments, although in an adultery or divorce case the court may order the legalization payment to be made.

● 585 476 578 The ceremonies of marriage should not be thought of merely as occasions for harmonious co-operation. They may also become the vehicle for the expression of aggression between the two families involved. This is particularly true of the obligation on the man to bring a party of his friends to hoe in the garden of his father-in-law. The hoeing party may do more harm than good to the crops if the present offered them by the father-in-law is considered inadequate.

583 178 [231] Prior to the conquest of the tribe the principal marriage payment was bride-wealth,[1] consisting of so many head of cattle. In those days, according to informants, no legalization payment was made. Nowadays bride-wealth is paid only in a small proportion of marriages, and rarely until after several children have been born. In the old days

[1] *Malobolo*. Cf. the Zulu *uvh ukubhala* and some dialects.